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ABSTRACT

Protestant and Catholic missionary organizations contributed to the development of American schooling. On the Protestant side, the American Home Missionary Society and the American Sunday School Union provided missionaries who frequently became active in school activities. More importantly, these agencies, typical of the evangelical alliance of this era, provided a common ideology, seen especially in their fear of a Catholic domination of the Mississippi Valley. The Catholic organizations were seen by Protestants as concrete links between American Catholicism and the despotic powers of Europe, and they served, therefore, to mobilize anti-Catholic sentiment, thus encouraging the formation of common schools. This ideology was important as a driving force in the development of common schooling. Three Catholic organizations were equally important. The Leopoldine Association of Vienna, the Ludwig Missionsverein of Bavaria, and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith of Lyons and Paris raised money for education. They too magnified a threat--the Protestant threat--in order to gain more funds. (RM)

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THE EDUCATIONAL EVANGELICALS: PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC MISSIONARY SOCIETIES' INFLUENCES ON MIDWESTERN SCHOOL FORMATION, 1830-1860

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Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Montreal, Canada, April, 1983).

ABSTRACT

Nineteenth century American education was the product of a variety of forces, one of the most important of which was religion. Of special interest is the role of missionary societies in the formation of common and parochial schooling on the American frontier. While some attention has been paid to Protestant missionary organizations, little study has been done of their Catholic analogs.

This essay deals with two Protestant organizations and three Catholic ones, in terms of their specific influences on midwestern school development. On the Protestant side, the American Home Missionary Society and the American Sunday School Union provided missionaries who frequently became active in school activities. More importantly, these agencies, typical of the evangelical alliance of this era, provided a common ideology, seen especially in their fear of Catholic domination of the Mississippi Valley. This ideology was important as a driving force in the development of common schooling. Prominent supporters of these organizations also became leaders in local schooling, providing in their persons the link between ideology and outcomes.

Three Catholic organizations were equally important. The Leopoldine Association of Vienna, the Ludwig Missionsverein of Bavaria, and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith of Lyons and Paris raised money for the projects of American Catholic bishops, among which was education. In turn, these same bishops were encouraged to magnify the Protestant threat in order to gain more funding.

The Catholic organizations also provided a kind of negative impetus for common school development. Seen by evanglical Protestants as concrete links between American Catholicism and the despotic powers of Europe, they served to mobilize anti-Catholic sentiment, thus encouraging the formation of common schools. They also resulted in the increased reliance of Catholics on parochial schools, as Catholics became increasingly alienated from the mainstream culture.

Introduction

An exploration of the roots of American education reveals its religious foundations. Throughout colonial society, schooling was in the hands of ministers and pious laity, teaching under ecclesiastical license.[1] Because the schools existed to educate children for their roles in the wider society, they enhanced that society's religious tenor.[2]

During the period of frontier expansion, there was a shift in religious emphasis from the rigid dogmatism of colonial Calvinism to a more broadly based Christianity, rooted in the experience of personal conversion.[3] The waves of revivalism which swept over the nation were both the product of this theological shift, and agents of its continued development. A major result was the foundation of Protestant voluntary organizations which developed a wide variety of social institutions.

To appreciate the role of such voluntary organizations in school development, we must realize how thoroughly religion dominated American social institutions of this period. According to the American Education Society, Americans spent $3,585,534.67 on public improvements from the foundation of the republic to 1828, while contributing $2,813,550.02 to the thirteen leading benevolent societies during the same time.[4] While such figures are suspiciously exact, and minimize the amounts spent on public improvements, they do point out the strong financial commitment of evangelical Protestantism to the nation's salvation. Institutions such as the common schools which we have come to take for granted as publically supported were frequently the product of such societies' efforts.

Underlying this developmental drive was the evangelical conviction that Protestantism's mission was to create God's kingdom in America. Accordingly, evangelical leaders established a wide variety of missionary societies, Bible

and tract societies, and Sunday school unions to extend the evangelical ideology. Frequently founded by laymen, and financed by business and professional people, such organizations combined an efficient paid central leadership with decentralized operations, using the most advanced business techniques of the day to market the pan-Protestant ideal.

In this institution building, there was little clear-cut distinction between where private efforts ended, and public ones began. Sunday schools which frequently met in common school facilities, picked up educational activity where the public schools left off. Both were seen as vehicles for extending ideology, a blurring of distinctions which resulted in the Protestant tone of American public schooling, as well as the conviction that American institutional development was necessarily tied to evangelical Protestantism.

While such societies were an established part of the Victorian landscape, they were by no means the only instruments of evangelization. Although various authors emphasize the contribution made by Protestant organizations to American institutional development,[5] little effort has been made to look at their Catholic analogs, an unfortunate lack given the contribution of the latter organizations to the funding and ideological development of American Catholic institutions.

Here, we shall examine both the Protestant and Catholic organizations which contributed to the educational effort in the West. First of all, we shall view the American Home Missionary Society, a joint Congregational and Presbyterian enterprise which provided missionaries and educational stimulus to the areas West of the Alleghenies, and the American Sunday School Union, a model of interdenominational cooperation in the advancement of Protestant religion and schooling.

Additionally, three analogous Catholic organizations will be studied: the

Association for the Propagation of the Faith, of Lyons and Paris; the Leopoldine Association of Vienna; and the Ludwig Missionsverein of Munich. Foreign in origin, these were charged with the task of providing funding for a wide variety of Catholic institutions.

Both in terms of actual school development, and in their influences on the shaping of the distinct Protestant and Roman Catholic ideologies of the period, the missionary organizations made distinctive contributions to educational development. The Protestant organizations contributed both personnel and money to the development of evangelical religion and common schooling. In addition, the structures of governance developed for their organizations were translated into early common school bureaucracies. The Catholic societies provided funding for an economically struggling Church, and helped to maintain immigrants' ethnic ties with their homelands.

Of equal importance was the influence of such organizations on ideological development. For Protestants, they provided a rationale for using the common schools as agencies of pan-Protestant culture, as well as establishing linkages with those schools in the person of religious leaders committed to the cause of common schooling. Additionally, the leaders of such organizations used the spectre of Catholic domination to secure funding for their activities, helping to create a climate of anti-Catholicism in the process.

For Catholics, such organizations strengthened their bonds with the Church by linking religious and ethnic culture. Catholic leaders, like their Protestant counterparts, used the threat of evangelization by other denominations to obtain funding, contributing to anti-Protestant sentiment among Catholics.

By supporting the development of public and parochial schooling, these organizations contributed directly to school formation. More indirectly, their

encouragement of sectarian strife helped to alienate Catholics from Protestants, and indirectly encourage the formation of separate Catholic schools.

The American Home Missionary Society

Perhaps the most visible symbol of the rise of pan-Protestantism, with its de-emphasis of dogma, was the American Home Missionary Society. Recognizing the difficulties of church establishment on the frontier, Calvinist Presbyterians and Congregationalists decided to cooperate in their missionary activities, resulting in a Plan of Union adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the Congregational General Assembly of Connecticut in 1801.[6] The plan recognized churches as either denominational or union. In the latter instance, ministers of one denomination could be settled in congregations comprised predominantly of the other without the churches thereby surrendering their particular affiliation.

The success of such churches resulted in the formation of the American Home Missionary Society in 1826. In May of that year, representatives of Congregational, Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed and Associate Reformed Churches met in New York to establish a common missionary effort.

The Society settled three kinds of ministers in the West: pastors for established parishes, those with no founded parishes, and agents. For the pastor of a founded parish, the Society provided part of a living stipend, usually one quarter of his expected annual income, with the parish to provide the rest. For those who went West to found parishes, the Society provided a small monetary stipend and necessary traveling gear. The third class of ministers, few in number, were agents, general overseers for the AHMS pastors in their areas. These maintained liason with the eastern offices and assisted in finding minister-

ial placements and funding.[7]

The Society's success is seen in its rapid growth. In its first year of existence, its receipts totalled a little over $18,000 and it sustained 196 missionaries in the field. By the end of its fifth year, it had generated over $48,000 and supplied 463 missionaries.[8]

The activity of the Society in Cincinnati is illustrative. The middle of the century found pastors of established parishes and agents of the AHMS active in the Cincinnati area which, by 1832, had two colleges, 23 churches, and 53 schools, as well as a host of other institutions,[9] making it the fastest growing city in the West.[10]

As a developed area, Cincinnati experienced little AHMS missionary activity, with the settling of Rev. Lewis D. Howell at Fourth Presbyterian Church in 1830 the only recorded instance of aid to a mainline church.[11] However, significant aid was given to churches for Welsh Protestants and later, evangelical German Lutherans,[12] the latter efforts tied to a desire to evangelize Germans, "depressed refugees from Catholic Europe."[13]

The Society also aided in the foundation of churches for blacks, who, by 1828, constituted ten percent of the local population.[14] Rev. D. Templeton was settled at the Colored Presbyterian Church in 1840, and supported for at least the next three years,[15] while Rev. J.C. White was aided at Tabernacle Church.[16]

The Society was also active in the semi-rural areas surrounding the city, with numerous communities in Brown, Clermont, and Gallia counties shepherded by AHMS pastors.[17] In urban Hamilton County, the later famous Rev. Horace Bushnell was settled at Delhi, as well as pastors at Mount Pleasant, Massilon, Mount Healthy, Cheviot, and Sharonville.[18]

More important to us are the central AHMS structures which were established

in Cincinnati. Because the city was used so frequently as a "jumping off point" for missionaries headed further west, on Feb. 22, 1830 the Society established "The Central Committee of Agency for Home Missions in the Western States," to be headquartered in Cincinnati.[19] While the Central Committee was slow in starting, by late 1831 its secretary, Rev. Robert Cushman, was able to report that he had raised $1658, and saw that as only a beginning of a great future for for the Central Committee.[20]

The importance of the Committee of Agency on Cincinnati's educational life was indirect, with the most important linkage found in the continued presence of influential citizens and schooling-oriented ministers on it. At the time of its foundation, the Committee included all four pastors of Cincinnati's Presbyterian churches, including the politically powerful Rev. Joshua L. Wilson of First Church, and Rev. David Root of Second Church, who was prominent in the city's early common school efforts.[21] Rev. Amos Blanchard, the editor of the evangelical Christian Journal was a member, as were outstanding citizens such John Groesbeck, a merchant and philanthropist,[22] and Rev. Lyman Beecher, whose pamphlet, A Plea for the West, urged the foundation of common schools to meet the Catholic threat.[23]

The presence of the American Home Missionary Society reached its peak in the Cincinnati area from 1840 to 1850, when the state as a whole had the greatest number of AHMS missionaries of any in the Union, 103 in all.[24] As the region became more prosperous, its ability to support churches of its own increased, a change reflected in the articles of the Home Missionary, the AHMS monthly periodical, which are less concerned with Ohio and Indiana, and give more attention to the western territories, especially California.[25]

The AHMS's decline was a result of schism. Throughout the 1820's, traditional

Presbyterians had become increasingly anxious about the innovations advocated by liberal ministers such as Beecher, seeing the 1802 Plan of Union and the AHMS as two important doors through which the "New England Heresy" of evangelical Congregationalism might enter Presbyterianism.[26] In response, conservative ministers sought to found institutions which would be exclusively under denominational control. These moves by "Old School" ministers were opposed by the "New School" pastors such as Finney and Beecher, who felt that the "improvements" brought over from Congregationalist revivalism could enhance traditional doctrine.

Given the differences, clash was inevitable. Conservatives, moderates, and neutrals joined with southern Presbyterians who feared "New School" abolitionism, and seized control of the church's General Assembly in 1837. Acting swiftly, they repudiated the Plan of Union, excised four union synods from the church rolls, and warned the AHMS not to interfere with Presbyterian missionary efforts.[27]

While the Society continued, the became an increasingly Congregational venture, with little interdenominational activity. During its heyday, however, it had served as a model of evangelical alliance, subordinating dogmatic and hierarchical considerations to the greater task of evangelizing the West and providing, in the process, the leaders of Cincinnati's early schools, and a rationale for the Protestantization of the common schools.

The American Sunday School Union

Another agency of the pan-Protestant alliance more directly concerned with education was the American Sunday School Union. Like the AHMS, the Union was a venture in interdenominational cooperation, instrumental both in the development of religious and secular education.

Its beginnings can be traced to the foundation of the Sunday and Adult School Union at Philadelphia in 1817, an organization which was itself the product

of the consolidation of several smaller eastern unions. Early suspicion of the interdenominational character of this society is indicated by its difficulty in obtaining a central committee.[28] However, it so succeeded over the next seven years that in 1824 its name was changed to the American Sunday School Union, and its scope extended to include the entire nation.[29] Its goal was the communication of the gospel in the most efficient possible manner,[30] reflecting the attitudes of the merchants who were prominent in its foundation. The result was a highly structured bureaucracy which was easily translated in developing communities to a governance structure for common schooling.

While the activity of the Union was calculated so as not to interfere with that of local churches, in remote locations it provided a "least common denominator" kind of Christianity as a religious and community-building service.[31] At the same time, it was intensely interested in the use of public education for evangelization. Thus, it could hopefully state:

> The interesting problem now presented to us is—how to retrieve and diffuse the influence of the Bible and of the Sabbath. And it is obvious that we must begin with children. Our public schools would seem to afford the best agency, and we hope they will ere long be found accessible for this purpose.[32]

In many communities lacking common schools, the Sunday schools had been burdened with the task of insuring basic literacy before their religious mission could begin.[33] Sunday school advocates strongly supported public education, as a rule, in the hope that they might be relieved of this inappropriate task.

The concern over schooling is echoed in the reports of the Union during this period. It urged the development of common school libraries,[34] and saw its own mission as joined with that of educational pioneers, "To bring a good education within the reach of every child."[35] All of this was done with the knowledge that common school education, especially in the Mississippi Valley,

was necessary to the creation of a Protestant America. Only if the dangerous traditions of emigrants from Catholic Europe could be stamped out would this come to be.[36] In 1829, the Union established the "Mississippi Valley Enterprise," a massive effort to evangelize "all of the country west of the Alleghenies to the Rocky Mountains, and from Michigan to Louisiana"—an area then estimated at 1,300,000 square miles.[37] An ardent advocate and fundraiser for this project was the indefatigable Lyman Beecher, who seems to have participated in any activity involving the formation of schools and the evangelization of the West.[38]

Again, Cincinnati mirrors these national concerns. In 1829, the Cincinnati Sunday School Union,

> believing the time was come when more enlarged and vigorous efforts ought to be made to promote the Sunday school cause in the West, resolved at a meeting on the 13th of October . . . that a Board of Agency be appointed for this purpose, to co-operate with the parent institution.[39]

Early in the following year, the Western Sunday School Board of Agency was established.

A glance at the Board's early membership provides another insight into the interlocking religious and educational directorates typical of the period. The founding secretary, Rev. Benjamin P. Aydelott, was an Episcopal minister of strongly evangelical persuasion who was later to debate with the Catholic archbishop, Purcell, over the role of the King James Bible in Cincinnati's public schools.[40] An early director was Bellamy Storer, one of the city's leading Protestant laymen, later an advocate of the retention of the Bible in the public schools in the famous Cincinnati Bible Case of 1869.[41]

Several regional societies cooperated with Union efforts. The Hamilton County Sabbath School Association was founded in 1863 to provide a unified structure for Sunday schools in Cincinnati and surrounding communities. The

bureaucracy of this organization was so thorough that it included Roman Catholic Sunday school statistics in its reports.[42] Again, we note a connection with common schooling in the person of the Association's 1869 Vice-president, Marcellus B. Hagans, an evangelical Methodist judge who sat with Judge Storer on the 1869 Bible case.[43] The Ohio Sabbath School Union, founded in Cincinnati in 1859 to provide statewide coordination,[44] had Judge Storer as the president of its 1860 convention.[45] Such pervasive evangelical interest in both Sunday and common schooling was typical of the period.

Like the American Home Missionary Society, the Union and its affiliates were dedicated to interdenominational cooperation, a policy which caused individual Christians and entire denominations to look upon them as they had the AHMS—with suspicion and hostility. One Ohio Sunday school pioneer was heckled at an organizational meeting by a man who insisted, "If you have anything to do with this Sunday-school business, you will rue the day. Keep out of it, and no harm will come."[46] The Sunday schools' emphasis on general Christianity rather than sectarian dogma was viewed as a threat by the established denominations.[47] The result was the foundation of increasing numbers of denominational Sunday schools which gradually replaced those of the Union. Like the AHMS, the American Sunday School Union had become, by the end of the century, the victim of denominationalism's triumph over the evangelical alliance.

The Protestant Organizations Evaluated

How did the American Home Missionary Society and the American Sunday School Union influence educational development? Primarily, by aiding the formation of a Protestant ideological basis which promoted common schooling, and by providing educational leadership.

Both the AHMS and the ASSU focused concern on the Mississippi Valley as America's battleground for souls. The monthly magazine of the AHMS was almost obsessed by its importance, and the threat posed by the growth of Catholicism. Article after article attempted to convince the readership that the Pope had temporal designs on the Great Valley, and that the influx of foreign immigrants was a calculated Catholic attempt to colonize the region.[48]

Key in this effort, according to the Home Missionary, was the Catholic educational network. An 1842 issue featured a detailed account of Catholic school formation in every diocese of the western territory, beginning with Cincinnati,[49] encouraging the fear that the schools existed primarily for proselytization. Thus, the author closed with apprehension over the real purpose of Catholic educational expansion:

> Upon whom does this machinery of education chiefly operate? On the Catholics? Probably not. The great mass of these people care little for education. They are mostly the German and Irish population of large towns, and on the canals, railroads, and other public works. Their children have no need of schools to make them Catholic. But it is on Protestant children that this system of means is chiefly intended to operate, and probably produces its principal effects.[50]

Over and over again, the missionary literature echoes this concern. Tales are told of the influx of Protestant youth into Catholic institutions, with the result that the children abandoned Protestant customs and took up Catholic ones in their place.[51] Catholic schools were seen as agents for the propagation of Roman religion, and consequently, a threat to the established republican—and Protestant—order of things.

These concerns help to explain the consolidation of a variety of Protestant efforts at saving the Mississippi Valley. The near simultaneous opening of the "Valley Project" by the American Tract Society, the American Bible Society, the

American Home Missionary Society, the American Sunday School Union, and the American Education Society indicates the depth of the evangelical committment.[52]

It is unclear, however, to what extent the leaders of the evangelical alliance actually believed the myth which they created. On the one hand, Beecher insisted in a letter to his daughter:

> the moral destiny of our nation, and all our institutions and hopes turns on the West, and the competition is now for that of preoccupancy in the education of the rising generation, in which Catholics and infidels have got the start of us.[53]

On the other, after a fund raising speech on behalf of the Sabbath School Union, he told his son William that,

> Nearly twenty thousand have been raised in money and agencies, and the right spirit is wide awake, and strong to occupy the Valley before his Holiness. So much good is to come out of popery, though it meant not so,[54]

suggesting his awareness of the fundraising potential of waving the "Roman menace" flag. While such propaganda was effective in promoting funding, incidents such as the burning of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, Mass., in 1834 indicate that the effects went far beyond the raising of money and helped to create and sustain the anti-Catholic climate that was to affect the development of American schooling.[55]

Such anti-Catholicism probably had deep roots in American consciousness. Thus,

> In his image of an evil group conspiring against the nation's welfare and in his vision of a glorious millenium that was to dawn after the enemy's defeat, the nativist found satisfaction for many desires. His own interests became legitimate and dignified by fusion with the national interest, and various opponents became loosely associated with the un-American conspiracy . . . . Then too the nativist could style himself as a restorer of the past, as a defender of a stable order against disturbing changes. and at the same time proclaim his faith in future progress.[56]

The support given to common schooling by evangelical Protestant organizations

represented an effort to provide such common unifying principles in the face of a foreign-dominated church making rapid gains on the frontier. Over the short term, public education probably benefited from the heightened interest aroused by such activity, but the ultimate result was the single major defeat of the common schooling movement, its inability to draw Catholics into the consensus.

More directly important for cities such as Cincinnati was the influence exerted by key individuals who were committed to common schooling and profoundly shaped by the pan-Protestant ideology. The recurrence of the same names in both the structures of evangelical Protestant organizations and in the history of the common schools points up the connection between them. We find Lyman Beecher serving as president of a local seminary,[57] while his son-in-law Calvin Stowe, a professor in that seminary, had made a national name for himself with his study of Prussian schooling, and a local one by his participation in the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers.[58] Maintaining this famous family's educational interest was Beecher's daughter, Catharine, who founded a local girls' school, and corresponded about schooling with the Catholic archbishop.[59] In addition, we find Rev. David Root, an early school pioneer, on the Central Committee of AHMS,[60] Rev. Benjamin P. Aydelott active in school policy formation as well as the ASSU,[61] and laymen such as Judges Hagans and Storer interested in both common and Sunday schooling.[62] All of this leaves us with the sense that many of the "movers and shakers" of the evangelical community in Cincinnati, and cities like it, were both prominent in civic concerns such as schooling, and committed to the extension of pan-Protestant principles into such social institutions. This provided the most important linkage between evangelism and education.

Institutions such as Sunday schools also complemented the instruction given

in the common schools. The Sunday schools provided opportunity for specific religious instruction to such an extent that, by 1863, there were 29,000 children in the Sunday schools of Hamilton County, Ohio, alone, 29% of the population between the ages of five and twenty-one.[63] At the same time, led by the evangelicals, the public schools had become de facto Protestant institutions, teaching a general Christianity. The combination of common and Sunday schools served both secular and religious needs of Protestant children, and obviated the need for denominational day schools. The evangelical missionary organizations, then, by assisting the development of both a Protestant-oriented public school system, and a complex network of Sunday schools, as well as by its anti-Catholic propaganda, helped to encourage the growth of public schooling, while at the same time pressuring Catholics to create a system of education more responsive to their needs.

The Catholic Organizations

While the instruments of evangelical Protestantism's growth were forged east of the Alleghenies, the support organizations for American Catholicism were European in origin. Just as ministers in the West appealed to more established eastern congregations for help, so Roman bishops begged alms from the Catholics of Western Europe.

Three organizations were especially important for Catholic development: the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, of Lyons and Paris; the Leopoldine Association of Vienna; and the Ludwig Missionsverein of Munich. Their resources promoted Catholic growth throughout the nineteenth century.

The first organization formed was the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, founded in 1815 by Mme. Petit of Lyons to raise funds for the diocese of New Orleans. In 1822, her group joined with another founded to aid missions

in the Far East, with Paris and Lyons as headquarters for the combined agency.[64] The organization asked each member to contribute one sou a week, which was then channeled through an elaborate bureaucracy to a central council, which distributed the funds and published a bulletin of mission news.[65] The Association also had a junior branch, the Association of the Holy Childhood, in which children contributed one sou a month.[66]

While originally founded to aid the diocese of New Orleans, the Association expanded its area of interest to include all American missionary dioceses. In 1823, Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati, who was traveling in Europe, made a direct appeal to the council, which gave him an immediate grant of 8000 francs,[67] the beginning of beneficence which would last over 40 years and would net the diocese of Cincinnati alone around $120,000.[68]

The primary use of these monies was evangelization. Thus, Rev. Theodore Badin, Fenwick's liason with the Association, cautioned:

> Your only dependence in France is on the Association of the Propagation, and your expectations from that quarter will be great or little, in proportion to the interest which you will excite in the Bureau, by your letters on the details of your priests respecting the Ohio mission, especially among the Savages. You must bear in mind that the object of the Association is precisely the conversion of the indians, infidels [sic]; though I cannot say they would not encourage the missions among the Protestants.[69]

Clearly, more was expected than simply the maintenance of Catholic immigrants.

The publication of the Association, the Annales, paralleled the Home Missionary by printing inspirational descriptions of American Catholic needs, among which was schooling. However, the latter's value was couched in terms of evangelization:

> Nothing tends more to bring back Protestants to the unity of the faith, than our schools, where dissenting parents are glad to place their children. In leaving these establishments where no other proselytism than that of example is used, the young American girls carry with them

> if not the faith, at least the pious remembrance of their teachers; they love to speak of the virtues which they have witnessed, and to defend them against any who ignorantly attack them. By and by the reflection ripens these germs of grace, and leads the pupil, under the convictions of childhood, to the altar of her teachers.[70]

Despite such statements, Catholic schools served primarily the needs of a Catholic clientele.[71] In some instances, funding was sought by enumerating the dangers to Catholic children of public schools:

> The environment is set by Protestant ministers who rail against our holy religion . . . and, whenever possible, set up bigotry and intolerance in the houses of learning and public schools so that Catholic youth are always in danger of losing their faith.[72]

Financially strapped bishops, like local ministers, were quite willing to use whatever argument they thought would appeal to the Association's purse, however lurid the argument might be.

Especially important to German Catholics was the second organization, the Leopoldine Foundation of Vienna. Cincinnati especially was fortunate, since the diocese had as its Vicar General, Rev. Frederick Rese, the founder of the Foundation. A talented fundraiser, Rese was able through the influence of powerful friends to present American needs to the Austrian Emperor, Francis I, along with a plan to raise money,[73] and the Leopoldine Foundation was established on May 13, 1829.[74]

Like the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, the Leopoldine Foundation sought small sums of money on a regular basis from its members. Alms of about two cents a week were collected and distributed to the dioceses of the United States.[75] Given its foundation by a Cincinnati priest, it is hardly surprising that between 1830 and 1885, the organization contributed around 128,000 florins (about $60,000) to that diocese, about twice the amount given to any other.[76] Throughout the era, there was continual correspondence between the bishop in Cincinnati and the Archbishop of Vienna, the Leopoldine's chief

executive, either soliciting alms or granting them, as well as inquiring about or reporting the conditions of the local church.[77]

Part of the Leopoldine's goal was to maintain immigrants' German Catholic identity. Its alms were spent largely, though not exclusively, on the midwest's growing German population. In Cincinnati, Holy Trinity, the first German parish, was a beneficiary, as were the German parishes of St. Philomena and St. John the Baptist.[78] In several instances, money was specifically given for the needs of German immigrants—in one case, for the foundation of a church to serve them.[79] Common ties of religion, language, and culture made such interest by Austrians in America's German Catholics understandable.

The Leopoldine was also concerned with education. Like the Propagation of the Faith, it published regular Reports, containing descriptions of local needs. Throughout the era, the bishops of the United States chronicled the successes and difficulties of their dioceses, including their struggling efforts at school formation, a trend to which the bishop of Cincinnati was no exception. In responding, the Leopoldine Foundation explained to its members that it was sending the majority of their alms to Cincinnati, for the building of churches, schools, and a seminary, believing it better to spend a lot of money in one place and achieve results, rather than spread it out and not really help anyone.[80]

Once again, the threat of Protestant proselytization was used as a spur to encourage contributions. Bishop Purcell, Fenwick's successor, wrote the headquarters of the Foundation,

> This State already has more than a million inhabitants, many of them Germans, Catholic and Protestant, and the number of both is increasing every day by immigration. Therefore unnumberable different sects chose the landing places for their temples. Therefore with the first step, that our co-religionists set on the soil of Ohio, they are attacked by these wolves, they are filled and pestered with the arguments common to error and with feigned friendship, to renounce

> their Faith. . .Here in this city alone twenty-five colossal buildings (called free-schools) were erected this year, in which school will be held free of charge. The plan was grand on the part of Protestants, but oppressive to the Catholics. For they set their last hope for the spread of their errors on the education of youth.[81]

This letter, as well as others describing the educational gains made in the city,[82] indicates that schooling was used as a selling point to encourage foreign donations.

The Leopoldine Foundation granted monies to individual religious communities as well. During the period from 1846 to 1860, the Jesuits and the Ursulines, both communities involved in education, received almost 30,500 florins for their work.[83] Thus, the Leopoldine supported school formation by direct aid to those religious groups whose principal work was schooling, rather than by grants to the schools themselves.

Smallest of the three organizations was the Ludwig Missionsverein, which, like the Leopoldine, grew out of the efforts of Frederick Rese. Initially approaching the King of Bavaria for aid in 1828,[84] Rese gradually aroused interest until, in 1838, he convinced the king of the need for a Bavarian organization to aid American Catholics. Shrewdly, Rese made his case by painting dire pictures of the Protestant threat, and catering to the king's Francophobia.[85] Initially, this new society functioned in conjunction with the Propagation of the Faith, but Louis's strong antipathy to anything French led to a complete break in 1844.[86]

Because of its late foundation, the Missionsverein was the smallest contributor to the American church. While the only history of the Cincinnati diocese can point to a single instance of beneficence,[87] there were actually several. Generally, the Missionsverein preferred to distribute its alms among religious orders, rather than to bishops.[88] Ursuline nuns from France received 1800 guilden between 1866 and 1869 to develop a parish school in Tiffin, a town in

northern Ohio.[89] In addition, the Missionsverein granted the Jesuits of Cincinnati's St. Xavier College a gift of 500 guilden in 1859, followed by an interest-free loan of 10,000 guilden in 1861.[90] Still later, it funded both a church and school for the city's black Catholics.[91] While its total financial contribution was the smallest of the three European organizations, its committment to education was strong.

Like the Leopoldine Foundation, the Ludwig Missionsverein was interested in the preservation of German Catholic culture. Appeal for funding was made on the basis of national background and Protestant dangers. The Jesuit college in Cincinnati was described as caring "especially for the German youth, for the greater number of students are the sons of German Catholic inhabitants."[92] In arguing for the needs of blacks, the pioneer missionary F.X. Weninger insisted,

> Up to the present, very few [blacks] are Catholic; they belong to Protestant sects, principally Baptist or Methodist. For political reasons the emissaries of these sects are subsidized freely, mostly in the schools, in order to have the children raised Protestants. This Protestant influence has made its corrupting influence felt principally since the Civil War, when the Catholic slaves were set free by their masters in consequence of the Emancipation Proclamation.[93]

Both the preservation of the immigrants' faith and the gaining of converts through education were advanced as reasons to solicit the Missionsverein's aid.

The Catholic Organizations Evaluated

The Association for the Propagation of the Faith, the Leopoldine Foundation, and the Ludwig Missionsverein were all instrumental in promoting the growth of Catholic education throughout the United States. Primarily, they aided education by providing funds for the purpose of school foundation, with special concern for German immigrants and minority groups such as blacks and native Americans. More indirectly, they aided the development of schooling by helping to found

parishes, since German parishes virtually always included a parish school.

These organizations also made a negative contribution to the separate development of both parochial and public schooling by encouraging mutual suspicion on the part of Catholics and Protestants. Bishops frequently used the threat of Protestant proselytization to coax money from the European organizations, thus encouraging Catholic distrust of Protestants and their involvement with common schooling.

On the Protestant side, demagogues were given an observable link between the American Catholic Church, and the despotic powers of Europe. Seen as agents of Catholic expansionism, the missionary organizations drew the fire of preachers and pamphleteers, who sounded the alarum over Catholic efforts to dominate the West.

A few examples suffice to show the extent of such reaction. An 1859 article in the New Englander, a Congregationalist periodical, shows the danger to Protestant America by using the publications of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith to illustrate Catholic imperialist designs.[94] Quotation after quotation is made to show the sophistication of the Association, its financial power, and anti-Protestant spirit, while statements of Catholic triumphalism are cited to show how completely the Roman heresy was committed to the conversion of America.[95] The author summarizes:

> We have not brought forward these representations by Catholic writers of Protestantism in the United States, for the purpose of refuting them. Every Protestant reader will at once detect the exaggerations and will understand that these are the views of persons who look from a widely different point of observation than his own . . . who, notwithstanding their voluntary association in contributions for the propagation of the faith, are bound as with fetters of iron in unwavering submission to the will of a fellow creature . . . .We have thought that, in accordance with the old maxim, "Fas est ab hoste doceri," that something may be learned from an enemy, and that we may thus be prepared to correct what is wrong, to strengthen what is weak, and so make perfect the weapons of Christian warfare.[96]

Here, an almost grudging respect for the success of these organizations is coupled with a plea for greater efforts by their Protestant analogs.

Of all the Catholic organizations, the one most attacked by pan-Protestant polemicists was the Leopoldine Foundation, because of its Austrian origins. The 1815 Congress of Vienna had brought a new master to Europe in the person of Prince Metternich, the Austrian prime minister, whose avowed purpose was to subdue nascent European liberalism and to uphold the monarchy.[97] That this same Metternich was interested in the Leopoldine Foundation and instrumental in its formation[98] confirmed Protestant fears of rising Austrian interest in America.

Two works of the period point out how deeply this threat established itself in evangelical minds. In A Plea for the West (1835) and Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States Through Foreign Immigration and the Present State of the Naturalization Laws (1835), two prominent Americans articulated their concern about the Leopoldine Foundation.

A Plea for the West, Lyman Beecher's classic statement of millenial optimism and Catholic danger, lays out the menance of Austrian domination in no uncertain terms. Having mentioned that the Roman Pontiff remained on his throne only by the power of Austrian bayonets,[99] Beecher moved on to the issue of European control of American Catholics, insisting that Catholic education was aimed primarily at the conversion of Protestants. Thus, he claimed, American Catholics "supplicate the royal munificence of Catholic Europe to rear schools and colleges for the cheap and even gratuitous education of Protestant children, high and low."[100] Beecher goes on to specifically cite the Leopoldine Foundation as the agent of reactionary European forces,[101] and closes by urging American Protestants to meet the thrust posed by the Pope, the Austrian emperor, and "his wily minister Metternich."[102] The extent to which Beecher really believed all of this is un-

clear, but the tract's wide circulation helped to spark anti-Catholic sentiment throughout the nation.

The case against the Leopoldine Foundation was made even more directly by Samuel F.B. Morse in his pamphlet, Imminent Dangers . . ., issued in the same year as Beecher's. Morse, best known for hi- invention of the telegraph and work as an artist, was also a powerful anti-Catholic pamphleteer.[103] Here, his goal was the passage of legislation denying suffrage to any immigrant, even after attaining citizenship.[104] According to Morse, there was an integral tie between the Protestant Reformation and the rise of democracy.[105] Thus, "Protestantism favors Republicanism, while Popery as naturally supports Monarchical power."[106] The proof of this was to be found in the role of Europe's Catholic powers, especially Austria, in the suppression of republicanism.[107] By exporting Popery to the United States and supporting it, Austria had begun the subversion of the republic,[108] using as its agent the Leopoldine Foundation of Vienna.[109] Since Morse saw despotism and Catholicism as inevitably linked, support of Catholic missionary activity was viewed as simply covert support of Austrian imperial aspirations in North America.

The nation's attitude toward Morse's charges is unclear. However, that Imminent Dangers was first published as a series in the New York Journal of Commerce,[110] and again as a pamphlet, would seem to indicate wide exposure. A similar re-issuance of Beecher's work[111] also indicates the power which the evangelical alliance had to shape American religious sentiment.

By provoking such polemics, the Catholic missionary organizations contributed to both the growth of public and parochial schooling. By creating anti-Catholic climates in cities like Cincinnati, these writing encouraged Catholic alienation, and a move away from the Protestant-dominated public schools.

Indirectly, these writings also aided the formation of public schooling, since their insistence that Catholic missionary organizations aimed at the overthrow of Protestant republicanism provided a patriotic as well as religious ground for the support of common schooling. The threat of Catholic missionary societies thus served to strengthen the link between pan-Protestantism and public education.

Conclusion

We have seen how both Protestant and Catholic missionary organizations contributed to the development of American schooling. Financially, it is difficult to assess the influence of the American Home Missionary Society and the American Sunday School Union on cities like Cincinnati, since the public schools had been established previous to their arrival. However, the moral influence exerted by individuals committed to evangelism and common schooling guaranteed the schools' pan-Protestant tone.

Financially, the aid provided by the Catholic organizations is easily documented. Providing vital funding for the immigrant Church, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, the Leopoldine Foundation, and the Ludwig Missionsverein were major contributors to the growth of Catholic schooling in America. In addition, their desire to maintain the immigrants' ties with the homeland contributed to the sense of ethnic identity which led to the formation of German Catholic schools.

Both Protestant and Catholic groups played on the fear of domination by the other to encourage support, gaining funding by paying a long-term price in good will. Protestants and Catholics were encouraged to see each other as dangerous, and to define themselves, in part, by their opposition to the other.

Thus, Catholics regarded common schooling as suspect, as did Protestants, parochial schooling. In a real sense, Catholic and Protestant missionary societies alike had hastened the progress of American education, but in the process helped to create the common school movement's one great failure, its inability to draw Catholics into the public school consensus. Ultimately, evangelical activism had fostered the two parallel systems of public and parochial schooling which came to dominate America's educational landscape.

NOTES

[1]Lawrence A. Cremin, American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783 (New York, 1970), pp. 176-92.

[2]Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society (New York, 1960), pp. 18-19.

[3]Sidney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People (Garden City, 1975) 1: 504-20.

[4]The Quarterly Register of the American Education Society 3 (1830-31), p. 63, cited by Charles I. Foster, An Errand of Mercy (Chapel Hill, 1960), p. 122. I am indebted to an unpublished manuscript of David Tyack, "God's Government and the Bureaucratization of Redemption," for sharpening the connections between voluntary organizations and the development of American schooling.

[5]E.g., Ahlstrom, A Religious History; Charles C. Cole, The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists (New York, 1954); Foster, An Errand of Mercy.

[6]Colin Brummit Goodykoontz, Home Missions on the American Frontier (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939), p. 149.

[7]Ibid., p. 182.

[8]The Home Missionary 4 (June, 1831): 37.

[9]Lyman Beecher, ed. Barbara M. Cross, The Autobiography of Lyman Beecher (Cambridge, Mass., 1961) 2: 199. Charles Cist, The Cincinnati Miscellany (Cincinnati, 1845) I: 19.

[10]Richard C. Wade, The Urban Frontier (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 195-96.

[11]American Home Missionary Society, Fourth Annual Report (1830), p. 22.

[12]Cf. AHMS, Ninth Annual Report (1835), p. 43; Thirteenth Annual Report (1839), p. 31; Eighteenth Annual Report (1844), p. 50; Nineteenth Annual Report (1845), pp. 22, 35, 53.

[13]The Home Missionary 22 (July, 1849): 6.

[14]Wade, The Urban Frontier, p. 221.

[15]AHMS, Fifteenth Annual Report (1841), p. 50; Eighteenth Annual Report (1844), p. 60.

[16]Eighteenth Annual Report (1844), p. 65.

[17]Cf. Fourth Annual Report (1830), pp. 22, 23; Sixth Annual Report (1832), p. 34; Nineteenth Annual Report (1845), p. 22.

[18]Seventh Annual Report (1833), p. 16; Eighth Annual Report (1834), p. 30; Twelfth Annual Report (1838), p. 43; Fifteenth Annual Report (1841), p. 14; Seventeenth Annual Report (1843), p. 50; Eighteenth Annual Report (1844), p. 18.

[19]The Home Missionary 3 (June, 1830): 34.

[20]The Home Missionary 4 (June, 1831): 34-35.

[21]"The Central Committee of Agency," The Home Missionary 3 (July, 1830): 52.

[22]Ibid.

[23]AHMS, Central Board of Agency for the Western States Annual Report (1835), p. 79.

[24]"Distribution of Missionaries, No. 2," The Home Missionary 25 (June, 1852): 32.

[25]While early reports are largely from the South, as well as Ohio and Indiana, we begin to see accounts of missionary activities in Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin in the late 1830s. Cf. The Home Missionary 10 (April, 1838): 204-05; 15 (June, 1842): 36-37; 15 (July, 1842): 56-57; 16 (Feb., 1844): 218-19. Beginning in the late 1840s, we also have reports from California. Cf. 22 (Aug., 1849): 92, for one such account. This shift in attention is also shown in AHMS demographics. The years from 1841 on witnessed a steady growth in the number of missionaries in Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Oregon and California, as well as decline or a steady state in the Midwest. Cf. "Distribution of Missionaries, No. 2," p. 32.

[26]Ahlstrom, A Religious History 2: 562.

[27]Ibid., pp. 563-66.

[28]Edwin Wilbur Rice, The Sunday-School Movement and the American Sunday-School Union (Philadelphia, 1917), pp. 60-63.

[29]Rice, The Sunday-School Movement, p. 79.

[30]Cf. Ninth Annual Report of the American Sunday School Union (1833), pp. 14-15.

[31]Rice, The Sunday-School Movement, pp. 85-86.

[32]Fifteenth Annual Report of the American Sunday School Union (1839), p. 28.

[33]William Bean Kennedy, The Shaping of Protestant Education (New York, 1966), pp. 22-23.

[34]ASSU Fifteenth Annual Report (1839), p. 11.

[35]ASSU Seventh Annual Report (1831), p. 27.

[36]Cf., for example, Eleventh Annual Report (1835), p. 4, and Eighteenth Annual Report (1842), p. 14. The same sentiments are expressed by Thomas S. Grimke, an influential Sunday school leader, in Sunday Schools in the Valley of the Mississippi (Philadelphia, 1831), p. 4.

[37]Rice, The Sunday-School Movement, pp. 195-97.

[38]Ibid., p. 196.

[39]Constitution of the Western Sunday School Board of Agency and an Address to the Superintendents, Teachers and Friends of Sunday Schools in the West (Cincinnati, 1829), p. 5.

[40]Ibid., p. 7. Aydelott was later to renounce the Episcopal Church because of its "High Church" tendencies, become a Presbyterian, and eventually, pastor of Beecher's Lane Seminary. Cf. the short biographical sketch by Aimee B. Workum in the Cincinnati Historical Society.

[41]Cf. First Annual Report of the Western Board of Agency of the American Sunday School Union (1836), frontispiece.

[42]First Annual Report of the Hamilton County Sabbath School Association (1863), p. 21.

[43]Sixth Annual Report of the Hamilton County Sabbath School Association (1869), n.p.

[44]Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Ohio Sabbath School Association (1877), p. 6.

[45]Cf. Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Ohio Sabbath School Association (1874), n.p.

[46]B.W. Childlaw, The Story of My Life (Cincinnati, 1890), pp. 119-20. Rice mentions similar sentiments in other geographical areas, cf. p. 48.

[47]Rice, The Sunday-School Movement, p. 43.

[48]To cite every reference to this element of the pan-Protestant ideology found in the Home Missionary would require several pages. The following are representative: 2 (Dec., 1829): 124; 2 (Mar., 1830): 172-74; 2 (April, 1830): 188-89; 3 (Dec., 1830): 156-57; 5 (July, 1832): 35-36; 6 (Feb., 1834): 175-77; 14 (Dec., 1841): 180-83; 15 (June, 1842): 37-39; 15 (July, 1842): 55-56; 15 (Nov., 1842): 145-47; 16 (Feb., 1844): 215-18; 18 (April, 1846): 281; 22 (July, 1849): 61-63; 22 (Nov., 1849): 160-61; 25 (July, 1852): 58.

[49]"Ecclesiastical and Educational Force of Romanism in the Western States," The Home Missionary 14 (April, 1842): 278-82.

[50]Ibid., p. 282.

[51]E.g., The Home Missionary 3 (Dec., 1830): 157; 14 (April, 1842): 278-82; 16 (Dec., 1843): 176; 22 (Nov., 1849): 160. We might note also that the American Sunday School Union shared many of these same perspectives on the Catholic threat. Cf. Eleventh Annual Report (1835), p. 4; Twelfth Annual Report (1836), p. 15; Eighteenth Annual Report (1842), p. 14.

[52]Foster, An Errand of Mercy, p. 192.

[53]Lyman Beecher to Catharine Beecher, July 8, 1830, cited in Autobiography 2: 167-69.

[54]Lyman Beecher to William Beecher, June 5, 1830, Autobiography 2: 165.

[55]Cf. Ahlstrom, A Religious History 1: 673-74.

[56]David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mason Literature," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 47 (Sept., 1960): 205-24.

[57]Cf. Autobiography of Lyman Beecher 2: 207-08.

[58]Cf. Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, Public Education in the United States (Boston, 1947), pp. 359-60; Roman J. Schweikert, "The Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers," (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1971).

[59]Katharine Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher (New Haven, 1973), pp. 111-32; Catharine Beecher to Archbishop John B. Purcell, Sept. 28, 1875. Box II, University of Notre Dame Archives.

[60]The Home Missionary 2 (Dec., 1829): 131.

[61]Cf. Transactions of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers, pp. 197-201, for Aydelott's views on the use of the King James Bible in the public schools.

[62]First Annual Report of the Western Board of Agency of the American Sunday School Union (1836), n.p.

[63]First Annual Report of the Hamilton County Sabbath School Association (1863), p. 21.

[64]Theodore Roemer, The Ludwig-Missionsverein and the Church in the United States (1838-1918) (Washington, 1933), p. 2.

[65]Benjamin Blied, Austrian Aid to American Catholics, 1830-1860 (Milwaukee, 1944), pp. 17-18.

[66]Ibid., p. 18.

[67]Association for the Propagation of the Faith, "Allocations, 1824-44," microfilmed Archives of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, reel 7. UNDA.

[68]Ibid., John H. Lamott, History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati (Cincinnati, 1921), p. 174.

[69]Rev. Stephen Badin to Bishop Dominic Edward Fenwick, Aug. 12, 1825. Box II, UNDA.

[70]Annales, 23: 107, cited in H.C. Kingsley, "Roman Catholic Contributions and Missions," The New Englander 17 (Feb., 1849): 105-06.

[71]While there are occasional indications such as the one cited above that attempts were made to proselytize Protestant youth, there is no indication that

their presence in Catholic schools was particularly numerous. Given the spirit of competition in convert-making between Protestants and Catholics, we can assume that any great influx of Protestant children into Catholic schools would have been eagerly reported in the Protestant and Catholic presses. Protestant presence in Roman Catholic schools seems to have been concentrated in institutions for elites, such as Cincinnati's St. Xavier College. Cf. also note 52.

[72]Purcell to the Propagation of the Faith, Oct. 27, 1838. Microfilmed APF archives, reel 7, UNDA.

[73]Theodore Roemer, The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States (1829-1839) (New York, 1933), pp. 151-52.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Ibid.

[76]Blied, Austrian Aid, p. 26.

[77]Cf. Archbishop Milde of Vienna to Purcell, Dec. 29, 1836; Jan. 7, 1838; Feb. 28, 1839; Feb. 22, 1844; June 20, 1845; June 2, 1846. Box II, UNDA. Also, Purcell to Milde, 1840 (?), Box II, UNDA.

[78]Milde to Purcell, June 20, 1845; Mar. 15, 1850. Box II, UNDA.

[79]Milde to Purcell, Feb. 22, 1842; May 22, 1844. Box II, UNDA.

[80]First Report, cited in Roemer, The Leopoldine Foundation, p. 157.

[81]Cited in Roemer, The Leopoldine Foundation, p. 167.

[82]Ibid., pp. 167-68.

[83]Blied, Austrian Aid, p. 27.

[84]Roemer, The Ludwig-Missionsverein, p. 5.

[85]Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[86]Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[87]Lamott, History of the Archdiocese, p. 188.

[88]Roemer, The Ludwig-Missionsverein, p. 26.

[89]Ibid., p. 128.

[90]Ibid., p. 91.

[91]Ibid., pp. 99-100.

[92]Ibid., p. 91.

[93]Ibid., p. 100.

[94]H.C. Kingsley, "Roman Catholic Contributions and Missions," The New Englander XVII (1859), p. 93.

[95]Ibid., pp. 105-09.

[96]Ibid., pp. 109-110.

[97]Roemer, The Leopoldine Foundation, p. 146.

[98]Cf. Prince Metternich to Bishop Fenwick, Dec. 10, 1838. Box II, UNDA. The cordial support of Metternich was, in the minds of militant evangelicals, a confirmation of their worst fears.

[99]Lyman Beecher, A Plea for the West (Cincinnati, 1835), pp. 57, 95, 161.

[100]Ibid., p. 99.

[101]Ibid., pp. 158-59.

[102]Ibid., p. 183.

[103]Ahlstrom, A Religious History 1: 674-75.

[104]Samuel F.B. Morse, Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration and the Present State of the Naturalization Laws (New York, 1835), p. 29.

[105]Ibid., p. 3.

[106]Ibid., p. 4.

[107]Morse, Imminent Dangers, pp. 5-7.

[108]Ibid., p. 4.

[109]Ibid., p. 5.

[110]Cf. frontispiece of the pamphlet version.

[111]The Morse pamphlet appeared first as a series in the New York Journal of Commerce; the Beecher tract went through at least two editions.